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the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava,* for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u.

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods.

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *vai ke'etu.* Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it.

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers.

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them.

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae).* The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who

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854 753 [262] For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 824] the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 [764] The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional

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A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

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children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the association of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children. Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early beginning of sexual play. 864 [854]

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation, however, as males make frequent reference to female practices. 839 864 [871]

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite frequently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing 859 864 839